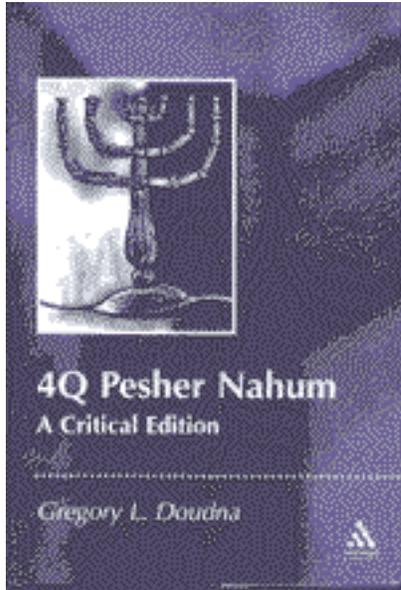


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4Q Peshar Nahum: A Critical Edition

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This book is a published version of the author's *disputats* that was submitted to the University of Copenhagen. Doudna's study should generate considerable controversy since it proposes that the mysterious "Lion of Wrath" in 4QpNah (4Q169) is a Nebuchadnezzar-like foreign invader who will deliver God's judgment on Israel and that the Dead Sea Scrolls were deposited in the caves surrounding Qumran in 40 B.C.E. It also contains the original text of the peshar that is based on the author's examination of the actual manuscript and all the available photographic evidence. Although this book is a critical edition and commentary of 4QpNah, it is actually much more; it is a bold reconstruction of the history of the Qumran community.

Doudna's study of 4QpNah consists of nineteen chapters, divided into three sections, with two appendices (one on paleography and the other on the identity of the Teacher of Righteousness). In the first section, "Text Reconstruction and Analysis I," Doudna presents a careful and meticulous philological study, reconstruction, and translation of 4QpNah. This section contains much valuable information because Doudna was granted access to Allegro's personal papers pertaining to 4QpNah, which Allegro published in DJD 5, as well as the photographs that J. Strugnell consulted in writing his review of this DJD volume. Doudna was able to compare this evidence with the actual peshar in the

Rockefeller Museum. In the final weeks before publication, Doudna incorporated several readings in his footnotes from S. Berrin's 2001 dissertation ("4QpNah (4Q169, Peshet Nahum): A Critical Edition with Commentary, Historical Analysis, and In-Depth Study of Exegetical Method" [Ph.D. diss., New York University]). Much of the material in part 1 is repeated in part 2, "Text Reconstruction and Analysis II," which contains another reconstruction and translation of 4QpNah and a few chapters on the peshet's historical background. Part 3, "On the Eve of the Roman Conquest," is an enlarged presentation of the historical material found in part 2, much of which is then repeated in two lengthy appendices. The study concludes with Doudna's reconstructed text in Hebrew, with an adjacent English translation, and a photograph of 4QpNah. Due to the great amount of material in this book, it is impossible to give a complete review of the author's discussions and conclusions about 4QpNah, paleography, and the archaeological and historical background of the Qumran settlement. The following comments are intended to provide selected examples of Doudna's methodology and interpretations that this reviewer found particularly interesting because of their implications for Qumran studies.

The greatest contribution of the present volume is its detailed examination and description of 4QpNah. It includes numerous charts and extended discussions of column length, line spacing, letter size, and the placement of vacats. Doudna's analysis of scribal behavior is particularly useful for evaluating the likelihood of proposed restorations. One example is 4QpNah 1–2 II 9–11, where Strugnell proposes that the word *mmnw* in line 10 is a variant from all known texts of Nahum and restores a lengthy uninterrupted quotation from Nah. 1:5–6a to complete the missing portions of these lines. Doudna's precise measuring of the spacing in this column demonstrates that this word, and the others visible in lines 10 and 11, are in the exact positions expected if the quotation had continued. For this reason Doudna accepts Strugnell's restoration as convincing (306–14) and includes it in his reconstructed text of 4QpNah (757). However, earlier in the book Doudna does not adopt Strugnell's proposal, since he writes that there is little to support it over Allegro's shorter restoration (106).

Doudna proposes that the errors and corrections in 4QpNah provide evidence "of a scribal transmission history of at least two scribal copying generations" (44). In his early discussion of the text, Doudna proposes that scribal generations could be rather short. He suggests that copies of a text could be made soon after the original and comments. "Alternatively, scribal generations could be authors' successive drafts, written on cheap papyrus and corrected in preparation toward a first fair copy, such that prior scribal copy generations would represent only hours or days, not decades, of history of a text" (44). In his "Appendix A: Palaeography and the Dating of Individual Qumran Manuscripts" (675–82), which also includes discussions of selected archaeological and numismatic materials (678–80), Doudna cautions against relying excessively upon the precision of

F. M. Cross's typological sequence of handwriting styles, since writing styles varied widely (675; also 39–40). Here Doudna correctly questions the use of historical designations such as "Herodian" as names for a paleographic script, since it is uncertain when these "Herodian" typological features in scripts first began (676). He also questions Cross's precise paleographic datings of first-century C.E. scribal activity and states, in connection with using archaeology to buttress this method, that "the high-precision dating system at the basis of the Cross 1961 script charts—functions almost like a bulletproof shield, impervious to the effects of any items of actual data that may suggest something different" (679). Reiterating this point, Doudna states, "Despite decades of uncritical reliance upon the dates in the script charts of Cross 1961a in the Qumran field, there is no basis in actual data for asserting that Qumran texts written in 'Herodian' formal and semiformal hands must be the work of scribes as late as the Herodian political period" (681). In doubting that there is any existing archaeological or epigraphic data that supports dating the start of "Herodian" formal hand as late as Cross's estimate of approximately 30 B.C.E. (676), Doudna poses some significant challenges to this traditional dating method and to the dating of Qumran's stratigraphy.

Much of Doudna's book consists of a detailed reconstruction and analysis of 4QpNah (77–555). Doudna justly urges that 4QpNah should be reconstructed on textual grounds alone (50, 337, 627). In the introductory material in part 1, however, Doudna, following a section on "Reconstruction of Scroll Length" (37–38), includes a section titled "Palaeography and Radiocarbon" (38–43). Here, the author instructs the reader to "see further discussion in Appendix A" (39) in which the issue of paleography, but not radiocarbon dating, is given a detailed treatment along with a brief discussion of some archaeological and numismatic materials. In his examination of paleography, Doudna is correct to call into question the traditional reliance on Cross's dating method, particularly the use of historical designations such as "Herodian" as names of scripts. He accepts that "low-precision palaeographic dating" is substantially grounded in the evidence, since it places Qumran scribal hands typologically and chronologically later than the fourth century B.C.E. and earlier than the second century C.E. (682; see also 39). In the introduction Doudna comments, "Since 4QpNah and 1QpHab are alike in genre, in language and themes, in scribal characteristics, in identical type of scribal hand (although different scribes), and in their existence only in single copies, it is suggested that the scribal copies of 1QpHab and 4QpNah were contemporary, from the same generation" (40). He then suggests that 4QpPs^a is also contemporary with these two texts and that "any true date information for any of the three should apply to all three" (40). This section is followed by a chart (table 2) that lists published paleographic date estimates for these three Qumran texts from a number of scholars.

Doudna continues his discussion in the introduction to comment on the radiocarbon dating of 4QpNah. He points out that the two radiocarbon tests of 4QS^d yielded different dates. This discrepancy, as he correctly observes, suggests that this document has likely been contaminated (41–42). In his chart, “Published Radiocarbon Dates (1QpHab; 4QpPs^a)” on page 41, Doudna lists radiocarbon dates for two documents. According to his chart, 1QpHab dates to “88–2 B.C.E.” with “68% confidence” and to between “160 B.C.E.–2 C.E.” with “95% confidence.” 4QpPs^a dates to “29–81 C.E.” with “68% confidence” and to between “3–126 C.E.” with “95% confidence.” Doudna cites his 1998 study (see his “Dating the Scrolls on the Basis of Radiocarbon Analysis,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* [ed. P. Flint and J. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998], 1:430–71) and states that one of these two dates is in error. He comments, presumably referring to his 1998 study, “On grounds external to the two radiocarbon dates—principally the clustering of the other Qumran text radiocarbon datings in agreement with that for 1QpHab, whereas the radiocarbon date for 4QpPs^a is out at one end of the distribution—I argued that the radiocarbon date for 1QpHab more likely reflects the true date for both 1QpHab and 4QpPs^a (and 4QpNah as well)” (42). While Doudna calls for further radiocarbon tests, by placing this information at the beginning of his study and by instructing the reader of the introduction to read appendix A, the present reviewer could not but keep in his mind the fact 4QpNah had already been, to some extent, dated. Because Doudna placed this discussion of paleography and radiocarbon dating early in the book and instructed the reader to see his expanded treatment of paleography in the appendix, he caused this reviewer, perhaps mistakenly, to date the extant copies of 4QpNah, and also 1QpHab and 4QpPs^a, in the first century B.C.E. before he read Doudna’s reconstruction and commentary of 4QpNah.

Doudna expands on some of the material he raises in the beginning of the book and seeks to push back the traditional dates of other Qumran writings. He suggests that copies of the *Serekh* texts are roughly contemporary in both composition and scribal copies (707–10). He also comments, “It should be recognized that the production of CD as a text is contemporary with the production of 4QpNah and 1QpHab” (643), and, “There is no good reason to date the final redaction of CD earlier than the time of Pompey” (643 n. 737). Doudna appears also to imply that some other sectarian works were composed in a fairly short span of time when he concludes, “There is no evidence among the Qumran finds of Teacher of Righteousness/*yachad* texts composed later than the generation of the Teacher of Righteousness” (706–7). Doudna believes, “Instead of a one- or two-century history, a *yachad* in existence less than a generation prior to the latest *yachad* text composition at Qumran is more likely” (707). He does, however, comment, “That *yachad* groups indeed existed external to the texts in some form is assumed here on the basis of allusions in the pesharim (not on the basis of 1QS)” (707 n. 810). Since he identifies

Hyrchanus II as the Teacher of Righteousness, he maintains that all of the texts explicitly naming this figure were composed within a two-year maximum span of time between 65–63 B.C.E. (710). In his discussion, Doudna also writes that the calendrical texts “reflect issues of interest to priests of Hyrcanus II in the 1st century B.C.E.” (737), that 11QT^a also came from circles associated with Hyrcanus II (738–39), and that 4QMMT dates to “c. 67–63 B.C.E. when the party of Hyrcanus II was out of power” and the “authors (‘we’) of 4QMMT” were priests of the party of Hyrcanus II (739). Doudna also brings the prayer on behalf of “king Jonathan” (4Q448) into the discussion and concludes, “A text with a prayer on behalf of ‘Jonathan the king’, *Hyrchanus II* [author’s italics], would be in keeping with the present argument that the Qumran texts are a library that belonged to Hyrcanus II” (736). Doudna further seeks throughout the latter part of the book to associate the Scrolls with the general period of Hyrcanus II and comments, “A first-century BCE *deposit date for all of the scrolls* is the best explanation for why there is not a single historical allusion in a Qumran text *later than the 1st century BCE*. In fact all of the data become accounted for very well if all of the texts were deposited in the caves c. 40 BCE” (701, author’s italics).

Doudna concludes his book by stating that the Dead Sea Scrolls were the library of Hyrcanus II (= the Teacher of Righteousness) and that they came to Jerusalem with him when he became high priest. They were then hidden at Qumran in 40 B.C.E. Moreover, “The find circumstances at Qumran testify to an interrupted hiding at an end of the period of habitation at Qumran corresponding to what de Vaux saw as the violent end of Qumran Period Ib” (754). This bold conclusion calls for a reassessment of past generations of Qumran scholarship. While Doudna includes citations to several publications from 2000 and also incorporates findings from Berrin’s 2001 dissertation, he does not cite my own work, which proposes that there are indeed Herodian-era (37 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.) references in many Qumran texts, including the Isaiah pesher (“On the Herodian Origin of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light from *Psalm of Solomon 17*,” *JBL* 118 [1999]: 435–60; and “On the Use of Scripture in the Development of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran,” in *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity* [ed. C. A. Evans; JSPSup 33; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000], 106–23). K. Pomykala’s (*The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism* [SBLEJL 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995]) much earlier valuable study, which presents similar arguments for Herodian influence in many Qumran texts, including the Isaiah pesher, is also omitted in the bibliography. While it is not the intention of this review to defend these publications, since their conclusions may very well be erroneous, they nevertheless use paleography and seek to amass a considerable body of textual evidence to propose that many Qumran texts were

copied and redacted in the Herodian period to reflect political changes introduced by the Herodian kings.

Doudna's textual analysis and reconstruction of 4QpNah contains many interesting proposals. Doudna claims to have discovered a new fragment (4Q282i), which he names "4Q Crucifixion Fragment" (409–33), that he uses to interpret the famous passage regarding the crucifixion of the "Seekers after Smooth Things" by the "Lion of Wrath" in 4QpNah 3–4 I 6–8. He uses 4Q282i to restore "call" (*qr*), instead of "fear" (*yr*), at 4QpNah 3–4 I 8. While this restoration is very likely, Doudna proposes that this word in the pesher does not introduce a quotation. Rather, he suggests that the lamed of "hanged" (*tlwy*) in line 8 marks the one hung alive as the object of direct address. Doudna then suggests that the phrase "accursed by God" (*mqwll 'l*), found in Deut 21:23, was deliberately omitted by the scribe of 4QpNah because it could have been read as "the one cursing God." Based upon this addition to 4QpNah, Doudna understands this section to be a prediction that the "Seekers after Smooth Things" will be crucified in the future, like traitors of the past, "for one hanged alive on [a stake is cal]led {'accursed of God'}" (430).

Upon close examination, Doudna's reconstruction is unlikely. He corrects J. Fitzmyer's (DJD XXXVI, p. 222) reading of "my virgin" (*by btwltw*) in 4Q282i to an unattested *pi'el* form of *tlh* and translates this fragment as "by him when he hung up/when he was hung up" (*bw btwltw*). Doudna's alternative suggestion that this verb may be a *pu'al* is unlikely, since it assumes that the short vowel is indicated by a *mater* and that the long vowel of the infinitive is written defectively. Therefore, his use of 4Q282i as the basis for associating the verb *qr* with the verb *tlh* is improbable. In his translation, moreover, Doudna proposes that the verb forms of 4QpNah should be read "as they would be read if encountered in similar types of sentences in biblical Hebrew" (62). Therefore, he interprets most of column 3–4 I as a description of "what is to come" (606). Doudna omits the valuable study of E. Regev ("How Did the Temple Mount Fall to Pompey?" *JJS* 58 [1997]: 276–89), which convincingly demonstrates that this section of 4QpNah recounts the defeat of "Manasseh" (= Sadducees) and the deportation of Aristobulus II and his supporters in the wake of Pompey's conquest as documented by Josephus. The significance of the *Psalms of Solomon*, which also corroborates Josephus's account of Pompey's deportation of Aristobulus and contains many parallels with the pesharim, is also largely ignored in the present volume.

Although Doudna regards column 3–4 of 4QpNah largely as a prediction of future events, he also proposes that Demetrius and Antiochus of lines 2–3 and the reference to something "in Israel of old" in line 8 refer to the past (389–433; 601–7). He briefly compares the pesharim to ancient methods of divination to support his contention that

they do not contain *ex eventu* prophecy (57–61; also ch. 17). By placing this comment in the introduction, this reviewer understood the author as wanting the reader to exclude the possibility of *ex eventu* prophecies in the text when reading Doudna's translation and reconstruction of 4QpNah. The consequence of this conclusion, to this reviewer, is that certain translations and historical interpretations of 4QpNah have already been excluded. Doudna's insistence that 4QpNah predicts future events leads to some interesting historical identifications of this text's sobriquets. He accepts the traditional association of the Kittim with the Romans but proposes that the Lion of Wrath is Pompey, that Manasseh (and the Wicked Priest and Spouter of Lies) is Aristobulus II, and that the Teacher of Righteousness is Hyrcanus II.

Doudna builds upon his historical reconstruction of the background of 4QpNah to reinterpret the entire occupational history of the Qumran settlement. He examines the archaeological evidence to propose a discontinuity between the inhabitants of periods Ib and II. The movement of the dining room (L 77) to the second-story level during period II is one of many examples that convincingly demonstrate that Qumran remained a sectarian settlement in period II. Much of this section consists of an extensive rebuttal of J. Magness's ceramic dating of the Qumran pottery, including the scroll jars, and her stratigraphical analysis of the Qumran settlement (see now her recent book, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002]). Doudna, however, does not adequately explain the relationship between the inhabitants of period II and the deposition of the scrolls in the adjacent caves, which he insists were all written prior to 40 B.C.E. While Doudna's argument for a first-century B.C.E. deposit of all the scrolls in the caves, and its consequences for reconstructing Qumran's later history, may not convince all readers, his discussion does bring to light the often tentative nature of archaeological evidence and the problems inherent in seeking to associate texts and artifacts.

Scholars will undoubtedly find Doudna's book stimulating and provocative. It is a virtual encyclopedia of information on 4QpNah, Qumran studies, and archaeology. It is particularly valuable for its history of scholarship and detailed analysis of the actual text of 4QpNah. The author, however, could have spent more time addressing the issue of genre, which is important for understanding the use of Scripture in the pesharim to recount historical events. (For an excellent treatment of this issue, see now, T. Lim, *Pesharim* [Companion to the Qumran Scrolls, 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002]). Doudna's book is valuable for its textual and historical analysis of 4QpNah and related Qumran texts. The recent publication of J. H. Charlesworth on the pesharim (*The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* [with appendices by Lidija Novakovic; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002]), which contains a vastly different interpretation of the pesharim and Qumran's archaeological history, demonstrates the

importance of the material examined in Doudna's book for understanding the history of Second Temple Judaism. Until the revision of Allegro's DJD 5 edition of 4QpNah by G. J. Brooke and M. Bernstein appears, scholars now have, in addition to Doudna's valuable text and reconstruction of 4QpNah, a new edition of the pesharim that were prepared under the direction of J. H. Charlesworth (*The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* [PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002]). Doudna's book, in addition to the other publications cited in this review, show that the pesharim have not yielded all of their secrets and that work on this interesting corpus of texts is still in its infancy.